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THE RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONAL

Joseph H. Fichter
Loyola University of the South

H. Paul Douglass is best known to us as a student of the reciprocal influence of urban life and church life. We usually think of him as an analyst of large groups and broad social structures, who was more intent upon the institutional aspects of the Church in the city than he was upon the individual churchmen and the church constituents. His excellent analysis of *The Suburban Trend* barely touches upon religious groups and institutions. His *Christian Reconstruction in the South* has a deeply religious orientation but is also an empirical sociological study of rural and racial problems. It is still an academic puzzle why Douglass is nowhere cited or quoted in Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* for his contributions on the race question. Thus, evidently, at first glance it would seem completely futile to try to take Douglass as a starting point for the discussion of religion as an occupation or profession.

As a matter of fact, he appears to give this impression himself in the introduction to *The Church in the Changing City*, where he points out that the work is meant to be an institutional study.

It deals with churches rather than with the persons who make or unmake churches. The reader will be disappointed if he expects a setting forth of the traits and capacities of the pastors and their colleagues. Names are only occasionally mentioned in the text, and, unless clearly determinative, the role of the pastor in influencing the adaptive behavior of the church has been ignored. (P. xxiii.)

In spite of this protestation, he did not lose sight of personnel and functionaries even in this series of case studies. On almost every one of the churches studied, he includes some text and a table entitled "Analysis of Paid Staff," indicating at least the education, experience, tenure, and salaries of the personnel.

When we examine his works in some detail, we find that he necessarily focused a great deal of attention, even if

often in a peripheral way, on religion as an occupation. Indeed, he frequently shows his concern about the status and role of the professional religious functionary, both the ordained man of God and the staff members, full time and part time. In another context, when he was talking about the Church and the race problem, he talked about the primacy of developing leadership among the people for whom the missionaries were working. "Such leadership is the chief human value of Jesus Christ to this world." (*The New Home Missions*, p. 178.) In *The Springfield Church Survey*, he presents a section on "the Church Staff," with statistical tables on the pastors' education, training, experience, tenure, and salaries. He provides data also on the paid assistants and on the general professional staff. (*Vide* pp. 155-162.) Comparisons are made throughout with the study of 1,044 city churches and with the St. Louis church survey. In his book on *How to Study the City Church*, he writes a section on "the Church Staff at Work." Here he paid particular attention to the "work record" of the professional, which he considered important in the job analysis. He developed a classification of duties in fourteen categories, which has probably not been improved upon since that time. He provides a table (p. 94), on "how one pastor spent his week and divided his work." This is broken down by minutes and shows a workweek of 76 hours, 10 minutes. (Pp. 87-99.)

Who Is A Religious Functionary?

The analysis of religion as an occupation forces us immediately to make some distinctions and definitions. If we categorize these people by the function they perform we find confusing diversities of occupations. Almost everything they do is done also in other institutionalized structures. Douglass pointed out that, in one church,

clerical work represented by four workers took nearly twice as much time as either of the two most extensive functions, namely, the pastoral and the administrative. These in turn took twice as much time as homiletical preparation; and homiletical preparation took twice as much time as the performance of all ministerial functions. The time given by the director of physical activities to the conduct of games was more than that spent by all three of the ordained ministers in the conduct of religious services. (*How to Study the City Church*, pp. 98-99.)

If we leave the function, or role, and turn to the status of the individuals involved, as a norm of classification, we also run into logical and analytical difficulties. Obviously, ordained ministers, priests, and rabbis, by vir-

tue of their consecration, are full-time religious functionaries. The same must be said also of people who have officially vowed themselves to the service of God and the Church, like religious nuns and brothers. These do not perform ministerial and pastoral work but are engaged in education, social work, nursing, and other functions. Despite the lack of clerical or religious status, however, we cannot omit large numbers of dedicated Church employees, mainly lay women, whose full-time job is educational, musical, recreational, clerical, and other work for and in the church. These must be clearly included as "staff members" of the church, and they are a constant reminder to clergymen that the measurable success of the church depends more and more upon the participation of such loyal and competent lay persons. On the other hand, Douglass and Brunner (*The Protestant Church as a Social Institution*,) complain that "perhaps the most serious problem of the staffed church is the extent to which paid workers are made substitutes for lazy laymen in work which would be more wholesomely performed by the rank and file of the constituency under the necessary technical direction."

In order to make the topic manageable, however, most of what we have to say will be centered on the professional religious functionary. The few studies that have been made in this area deal with ministers, priests, and rabbis, and little has been done scientifically concerning female professionals in religion. There is a large body of literature on Catholic sisters, or nuns, but hardly any of it has been produced under the rigorous methodology of social science. The persons upon whom we focus here are those who are said to have a vocation, or calling from God, to serve the cause of religion on earth.

Gross points out that the terms *vocation* and *calling* are sometimes used among professional people in general, as well as among the clergy. In this sense the terms refer to

occupational situations in which the person's work is felt to be his whole life. He identifies with his work as a burden and feels an obligation to be especially good or proficient. (*Work and Society*, p. 202.)

The person who feels that he has a vocation tends to be enthusiastic and conscientious about his work. This in general marks the difference between one who is completely dedicated to his calling, as compared to one who looks upon his occupation mainly as a means of livelihood. Douglass says that "the call to definite personal service and to the vocation of the missionary in a day of social emphasis should have social fire as its inmost quality." He remarks further that

qualifications for social service have become a chief test of the missionary. The fact that one possesses them becomes the most definite practical answer to the question whether the Lord has called him. (*The New Home Missions*, p. 231.)

The religious, or ecclesiastical, vocation is a functional role which contains many points of comparison with the various occupational roles studied by social scientists. Whether this vocational role is primarily that of a professional or that of a functionary, the fact is that it can be analyzed as a full-time occupation, for which recruitment and training are required. It is as logical to say that "religion is an occupation," as it is to say that politics, or the army, or the law, is an occupation. One qualification, however, of the definition of occupation is that it is an economic or gainful activity. Occupation is defined as "the trade, profession or type of work performed by the individual, irrespective of the branch of economic activity to which he is attached." One does not ordinarily think of religion and the Church as a "branch of economic activity," but one must also realize that the full-time religious functionary is, in a sense, an "employee" of the church.

We may say, then, that the term *vocation* is used in a peculiarly apt sense for the full-time religious functionary, even though occupational and professional characteristics of this role may be analyzed. In his book *Opportunities in Protestant Religious Vocations*, Nelson points out the obvious traditional Christian teaching (which he considers a discovery of the Reformation) that all people are called to serve God here on earth regardless of their particular occupation. He does, however, make a special distinction in the "special call" to church vocations. The person is said to have a calling from God, and also a mission, which is a command from God to perform the works of service through his church on earth. Moreover, Hughes, in "Personality Types and the Division of Labor," (*American Journal of Sociology*, March 1928) indicates that the training for this mission develops a new personality in the clergyman. While the social scientist does not analyze the supernatural and theological aspects of this calling, he is struck by the fact that many visible and measurable means are employed for recruiting and training vocations and for carrying out the functional roles of organized religion. It is on this "natural" level of investigation, of course, that the social scientist proceeds.

There is a widespread assumption that the qualities required in the religious functionary can be recognized with some degree of success. It has been said that there are basically only two concrete positive signs of a vocation,

right intention and fitness. The right intention must in some way be supernaturally motivated, and fitness "includes such qualities as piety, goodness of life, intelligence, generosity, and good health." (Peage, *Recruiting for Christ*, pp. 35-58.) It is said also that this calling or invitation from God does not carry a moral compulsion to acceptance. The numbers who are "suitable" are most likely much larger than the numbers who actually respond, but there seems to be no scientific method whereby researchers can ascertain this as a fact.

Douglass and Brunner devoted a whole chapter to the ministry which, they said, "employs more men than any other profession except that of medicine." From this source also we find that certain skills or qualities are required; and the description of these characteristics seems worth quoting.

Personal likeableness and such social qualities as are symbolized in the term "good mixer" are the first requirements. Second come those of pastoral aptitude, sincerity and tact; next, capacity to attract young people, and "adaptability," which apparently means capacity to get along with whatever conditions one finds. In a significant sampling only one church in four puts chief stress on preaching ability, and one in six on executive capacity. What the churches want in a minister is essentially a successful salesman for their enterprise. A striking feature of the analysis of the ministerial qualifications desired, is the virtual absence from them of any doctrinal specifications. Still more significant is the fact that the actual demand for ministers assumes the maintenance of the religious *status quo*. It is leadership in things as they are and adaptability to conditions as they stand, rather than innovative or prophetic leadership, that is demanded. (*The Protestant Church as a Social Institution*, pp. 104-105.)

Choice of Career

The study of the problems of occupational choice is still in its infancy. Most children in the upper grades of the elementary school have some idea about what they "would like to do" when they finish school, but this can hardly be called a definite choice. Studies show that only one out of five seminarians and one out of six religious sisters had definitely made up their minds about their future careers by the age of fourteen. Most of the others did so toward the

end of high school, the average age of decision being about seventeen years. Ginzberg's theory of three stages of choice seems valid in this connection: *fantasy* choices up to age eleven, followed by a period of *tentative* choices up to about age seventeen, whereupon the period of *realistic* choices begins.

An interesting comparison can be made here with persons in the medical profession. Rogoff's study has shown that the definite decision to study medicine was made at the age of fifteen or younger by eighteen per cent of the respondents, a little less than one out of five. There is a marked concentration of decisions between the ages of sixteen and twenty, the period in which two-thirds made their decision. (Merton *et al.*, *The Student Physician*.) Law students seem to take a little longer to make up their minds, only fifty per cent having made the decision at the age of nineteen or younger. (Vanderbilt, "A Report on Prelegal Education," *New York University Law Review*, April 1950.) Several factors seem to operate for an earlier commitment to professional school by the future physician than by the future lawyer. Thielen points out that these factors include "more extensive premedical course requirements, greater contact of medical entrants with their future profession, and the fact that doctors have higher standing in the community and obtain larger incomes than lawyers." (Merton *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 132.)

The fact that modal categories tend to cluster around a certain age of decision, and that this age varies slightly among the professions, has certain cultural implications. Obviously the decision most often closely precedes the overt act that must be performed in embarking upon preparatory studies. A future physician has to take pre-medical courses in college, while pre-professional courses are usually not the case with the future lawyer and clergyman. An earlier decision, however, may be expected in those cases where the young man goes directly from high school into the novitiate or seminary. The ideal requirements for the minister seem to be a four-year liberal arts college course, followed by three years of divinity school. Nelson suggests two reasons why a young man should make an early choice of seminary. The first is that he can take those pre-seminary courses prescribed by the American Association of Theological Schools, and the second is that he can be exempted from military service. (*Opportunities in Protestant Religious Vocations*, chaps. 12 and 13.)

The actual age of entrance to the professional life is older for Protestant ministers than for Catholic priests. It was about thirty for both trained and untrained ministers.

This means that ministers are older than men of most other professions are when they enter upon their work. Trained ministers have already spent on the average 4.5 years in non-religious work and untrained 7.7 years, the average for the two groups being 5.5 years. (Douglass and Brunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116.)

Among Catholic priests the exceptions are the Jesuits, who are usually about thirty-two or thirty-three before they start their professional career. These statistics probably do not include those young men in colleges and seminaries who do some occasional pastoral work or preaching while they are still in the training period, and who do other kinds of non-ministerial religious work.

Not only the age of decision, but also the choice of the vocation itself, is influenced by various factors outside the control of the individual. When we put the matter this way, we find that social selection operates on the prospective candidate for a career. The demands of training required for the role, the social and cultural perspective of the family and community, the character of the educational process, the prestige and income attached to the occupation, and many other factors are at work. In this sense it may be said that the occupation selects the individual because the range of possible occupational choices narrows considerably when these qualifications are recognized. Nevertheless, people do choose--and are conscious of the reasons for their choice--and in the American culture, freedom of occupational choice is strongly encouraged. In many instances young people make the choice under the apparent stimulation of older persons who would like to see them enter the service of the church.

Pious, church-going parents are probably one of the main adult influences in this direction. Allen's study of successful Methodist ministers showed that their mother's favorable attitude toward ministers during their childhood seemed to have an influence upon them. ("Childhood Backgrounds of Success in a Profession," *American Sociological Review*, April 1955.) Detailed studies of Catholic religious functionaries show consistently that the mother takes second place as an adult influence. The greatest single encouragement to the seminary comes from priests, to the convent from religious sisters, and to the brotherhood from religious brothers. Hagan's study over a period of sixty years shows that the "persons most responsible for fostering the vocation of Sisters, were in the following percentages: religious Sisters (44 per cent), mothers (25.5 per cent), priests (22 per cent), fathers (5.2 per cent), others (3.3 per cent)." ("Some Factors in the Development of Religious

Vocations of "omen," *Journal of Religious Instruction*, May 1945, p. 796.) In a study of 658 religious brothers, reported by Schnepf at the 1958 Vocational Institute of the University of Notre Dame, the order of "most" encouragement was as follows: religious brother (33.4 per cent), mother (26.7 per cent), father (8.2 per cent), priest (7.1 per cent).

It would appear a simple procedure to ask the blunt question: "Why did you choose this career?" or to ask: "What finally determined you to enter this vocation?" Problems arise with this kind of question, however, especially when asked of persons who have been following the religious career for a number of years. Because of the lapse of time, the individual may have difficulty recalling exactly what his motive for choice was. He may have had several motives and cannot determine which was the strongest. Furthermore, during his years of training he has subconsciously absorbed the "right intention" by learning what his motives ought to be. In spite of these problems, however, and aware of the complexity of motivation, we were able to ascertain the five "chief reasons" in order of frequency as stated by major seminarians and religious brothers.

| <u>Seminarians</u> | <u>Brothers</u> |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Attraction to priestly work | 1. Do some good in life |
| 2. Surety of salvation | 2. Surety of salvation |
| 3. Strong sense of vocation | 3. Edification of brothers |
| 4. Love of God | 4. Attraction to brother's work |
| 5. Salvation of others | 5. Salvation of others |

One of the interesting aspects of this investigation was the fluctuation of motivation according to the age of the respondent. We re-arranged the data according to the age at which the person made the choice. Seminarians who entered the seminary at the age of eighteen or older put surety of salvation in first place and conviction of a calling in second place. Those who entered at seventeen years of age or younger put the attraction to religious work in the first place and the love of God in second place. The percentage distribution on the following page indicates how reasons for choice of the religious career seem to shift with age.

We need not make any moral judgment at this point concerning the worthiness of different kinds of motivation to the religious career. We may assume that all of these persons had the "right intention" in entering the seminary since they have been accepted and retained as candidates. This means that the more mature person whose main reason is

| | 18 yrs. & older | 17 yrs. & older | Total |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------|
| Seminarians | 205 | 235 | 440 |
| Reasons for choosing | | | |
| priestly vocation | | | |
| Attraction to priestly work | 10.7% | 35.3% | 23.9% |
| Surety of Salvation | 19.0 | 9.4 | 13.9 |
| Strong sense of vocation | 16.6 | 8.5 | 12.3 |
| Love of God | 10.2 | 11.1 | 10.7 |
| Salvation of others | 7.8 | 4.3 | 5.9 |

that he wants to save his soul is as acceptable as the adolescent who is mainly attracted by the sacramental and pastoral functions of the priesthood. It is interesting also to note that those who make the decision in young manhood seem to have a firmer conviction that they have a genuine vocation (cf. Douglass and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 106), than those who are younger.

One final remark may be made concerning the motivation for choice of the religious career, and this has to do with professional orientation. Among the five principal reasons for choice, listed by both seminarians and brothers, the fifth one indicates a desire to serve others, that is, to help other people toward eternal salvation. This motive is mentioned much less frequently than is that of self-sanctification and salvation. While both of these must be considered "worthy" motives indicating a right intention, their ranking on this list may well be a function of the American culture. On the one hand, every profession is supposed to be oriented to service, but on the other hand, the American culture is also individualistic and is strongly imbued with the motives of self-interest and self-satisfaction.

Social Status of Religious Professional

The social prestige attached to an occupation is a factor attracting persons to the occupation as well as an influence upon the behavior of persons following the occupation. The esteem or disesteem in which a person is held by his contemporaries is also a factor in the extent of influence that he will have upon society. Social status is the position or "place" that an individual occupies in the social structure, and this status comes to him through both ascription and achievement. For a detailed discussion of this point, consult my book, *Sociology*, chapter 2, "Social Status." If the religious functionary is held in high esteem by his fellow Americans, he tends to have social power among them, and to this extent his role can be performed more effectively.

Social scientists point out that status is not the

product of one's own imagination. An individual's social evaluation of himself, his "self-image" in relation to others, may be quite erroneous when tested by objective criteria. This does not mean that every sort of self-image is scientifically valueless. Douglass and Brunner ask how the minister regards his own calling. They find that three out of five trained men, and four out of five untrained, "never regretted their choice of profession." Furthermore, the minister's dissatisfaction

is not primarily economic. He believes strongly in the values of his job as it is. He is sustained and sensitized by the feeling of its inner values to an almost abnormal degree. (*op. cit.*, p. 135.)

Enough research has been done in the area of social stratification, of status and class, to indicate that there is a wide consensus concerning the criteria of judgment. (*Vide Barber, Social Stratification*, pp. 19-24) These criteria must be interpreted according to the value system current in the culture, and this must be kept in mind if we are to evaluate the status of the religious functionary in contemporary America.

In a pluralistic society like that of America, we find that not only persons but also groups and categories of people are "placed" on different levels of the social structure. Recent immigrants, like Puerto Ricans and Mexicans; people with racial characteristics different from those of the majority, like Negroes, Orientals, and American Indians; economically underprivileged migrants from rural areas--all of these are generally relegated to the lower levels of status. This means that the individual usually shares in some way the status of the group or category to which he belongs. By the mere fact of his membership or identification with the group, he is automatically assigned to a social status.

It was from this point of view that Talcott Parsons could say that the "status of a clergyman is roughly a function of the prestige of his parishioners." This fact complicates any attempt to assign a general social status that would fit all members of the religious profession. Membership in a religious body is itself one of the criteria of social status, but the churches themselves vary in the status they enjoy. A family moving from one community to another may sever connections with its former lower-class church and make application for membership in an upper-class church in the new community. This is merely one of the channels of upward mobility open to socially ambitious people in the American society.

From another point of view Douglass was implying the element of shifting social status when he talked about the church in the substandard sections of the city. When the former adherents or communicants began to move out of the old residential area, people who did not belong to this particular denomination moved in, in increasing numbers, and the church administrators had to make the decision either to follow its adherents into another area or to change the whole functional and structural nature of the church. (*The City's Church*, chapter 4.) The successful minister of an upper-class church could not, perhaps, be quite so successful in a lower-class church. His status, being attached to the particular congregation, had also an effect upon his role.

Social status is achieved by people as well as being ascribed to them. For example, the ethnic background and the foreign language of large numbers of immigrant Catholics of the last century tended to identify Catholicism as a lower-class religion in the larger Eastern cities. It is thinkable that the mere passage of time over several generations could still have left American Catholics at the bottom of the social structure. The fact is that immigrant Catholics and their descendants want to work to improve themselves, and to elevate their social standing, with typical American zest and optimism. They seem now to be approaching the stage of their development where the main distinction between them and their fellow Americans is their religion. (Cf. Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, chap. 3.) In the midst of this upward mobility, however, the professional religious functionary has not merely been carried along passively toward higher status. As the best educated among the Catholics, as their representative and leader, he has himself been an important factor in promoting the upward mobility of Catholics.

There are, however, other elements besides group-affiliation by which the status of persons is evaluated. In discussing the findings of the North and Hatt study of occupational prestige, Barber points out that people gave the highest rankings to positions which have two characteristics: highly specialized training and a considerable degree of responsibility for the public welfare. (*Science and the Social Order*, p. 103.) On the first item we find considerable variation of education and training when we compare rabbis, priests, and ministers, and the variations are even greater within the last category. On the second item, the responsibility for the public welfare, the religious functionary probably ranks the highest in any society. His central occupational function is that of service to people; this is the social purpose of his ministry.

The religious functionary is by profession dedicated to

the service of God and of his fellowmen. His is, in economic terms, a "non-profit" occupation, and this is attested not only by the Catholic functionaries who have the vow of poverty but also by the reports concerning the relatively low income of Protestant ministers. While social rewards are expected to accompany high status, high esteem does not necessarily express itself always in tangible financial income. As a matter of fact, money income does not have the same function in the religious occupation as it does in others, especially in business. Among the clergy the values of communality and disinterestedness discourage distinctions based on money incomes. The symbols of success, which mirror the style of life for the layman, like expensive homes and fine cars, are considered inappropriate for the clergyman, even when inherited wealth may make them possible.

Family is another criterion of status, and in this regard there is a peculiar distinction between Catholic religious functionaries and others. Voluntary celibacy is in itself a relatively unique pattern, not shared by the majority of professional personnel in other religions. This means also that there are no descendants to whom the achieved status of the religious professional can be transmitted. One of the strong motives of Americans' striving for status is that they can hand it on to their children, a natural motive of which the Catholic religious professional deprives himself.

The common sense impression is that there is very little anti-clericalism among Americans and that they do in general manifest outward respect for the clergyman. Caplow remarks that "the social position of clergymen is colored by two thousand years of church history" (*The Sociology of Work*, chap. 2), and those who construct rating scales place the clergy fairly high among the occupations. The North and Hatt scale has the minister of the Gospel somewhat below the physician and the college professor, but somewhat above the psychologist and the sociologist. Generally speaking, the ministry has long been ranked among the learned professions, and this traditional status has helped to overcome the handicap of membership in immigrant categories as well as that of some rather noteworthy exceptions in American history.

The priesthood and the ministry seem to be holding their high rank in occupations in spite of another factor that is often mentioned: the so-called trend to secularism and materialism in our culture. As we have seen, status is determined by the criteria of values that are current in the culture. If American values are really materialistic, then we may expect that the man of God would gradually sink to a lower rank of occupation in the esteem of his fellow men.

It has even been suggested that, "in an extremely advanced society built on scientific technology, the priesthood tends to lose status because sacred tradition and supernaturalism drop into the background," (Davis & Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, April 1945, p. 246.) The fact is, of course, that many other criteria, besides technological progress and utility, are employed to measure the social status of the dedicated religious person.

In the last analysis, we must remember that the criteria of status are multiple and do not focus only on either the secular or the supernatural aspect of the role performed by the person. We shall see further that the American religious functionary enacts numerous subsidiary roles through which he may achieve higher status. He comes before the general public as an expert in non-ecclesiastical roles, and tends to be at least partially identified with occupations that exist also outside the formal religious structure.

Fichter's final lecture will appear in an early issue.

SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION IN SWEDEN

James M. Gustafson
Yale University

In Sweden the sociology of religion is a new area of study both in the sociological and theological faculties. Sociology has had the same difficulty in being acknowledged in the Swedish universities that it had in England, though now there are professors in sociology in both Uppsala and Lund, the old universities, and also in the newer universities in Gothenburg and Stockholm. In the theological faculties the sociological interpretation of religion meets some resistance; certainly it is not an integral part of the curriculum.

Selected Swedish Scholars

Gustafsson, Ström, and Sundström come to sociology of religion from different disciplines. Gustafsson is docent in church history in the theological faculty in Lund. In addition to his sociological studies, he has written a survey text of Swedish church history, a history of the small-church movement in Denmark and Sweden, articles on Kierke-

gaard, a book on the interpretation of Marx, and is a regular contributor to a daily newspaper in southern Sweden. Ström is docent in the history of religions and has written on various topics in that field as well as others. His work in sociology of religion is more like that of Wach and Mensching than that of contemporary empirical analysts. Sundström has done studies in the psychology of religion, and is the editor of the weekly paper of the Swedish Mission Covenant Church. His other books are on religious awakenings, and the doctrine of the church.

Gustafsson's studies (consult appended bibliography) cover a wider range of data and methods than do most sociologists'. Of a theoretical nature is a paper on the types of "institutionalizing agents" in religious group life, which will probably appear in a forthcoming symposium. The first three books cited deal with historical data. Two of them use various types of historical records to analyze a phenomenon that is known to all of Western Christendom, namely the alienation of the working class from the church. The book on women in Swedish folk life is a different kind of sociological interpretation of historical data. The author tests Ralph Linton's theory of culture change by analyzing the changing pattern of relations between men and women in church and folk life. The books on church geography and contemporary Swedish Christians analyze statistical data of contemporary Swedish church life. The pamphlet on the church in twentieth century society is a prophetic and practical study of church problems resulting from the urbanization of Swedish life. The article in the textbook edited by Dahlström is a concise summary interpretation of Swedish religious life.

Swedish church historians have a vast amount of primary source material with which to work. Preoccupation with the record file is older than capitalism in this country, and there have been no destructive wars to clean out the archives. Further, for social analysis, the curious preoccupation of the Swedes with titles and occupational data gives accurate information about a major index of stratification. (A dear old woman's sixtieth birthday notice in the paper even listed her as "Toilet attendant Anna . . .") Church records list, among other things, attendance at divine services and the "communion frequencies." Swedish historians know more than is worth knowing about very insignificant aspects of their church history, but the same raw data set in sociological perspective reveal important facets of the relation of church to society.

Social Class in Swedish Church Life

Gustafsson's first two books deal with a significant

decade in Swedish social history, that of 1880-1890, during which the socialist movement got under way. In *Kyrkoliv och Samhällsklass*, he shows how social stratification was deeply imbedded in the life of the Church of Sweden. Several indexes are used: pew rentals; the location of marriages (e.g. the highest stratum had "grand" church weddings, next came home weddings, and the lower classes were married in rectories); the location of baptisms; the tolling of church bells at the time of death (distinctions between the weight of bells used for men and women, the time of tolling, and the number of bells used); the time of funerals (upper and middle strata had week-day funerals, the lower stratum had Sunday morning funerals when the funeral tolling could coincide with the tolling for divine service, thus saving a fee); the place of burial (highest status, within the church; next, close to the church building, and the lowest, farthest away); and the place of catechetical instruction (home instruction was increasingly confined to the lower strata). This work of Gustafsson's is much more complex than indicated here, for he qualifies all of his correlations and their implications in the light of other variables than those indicated. For example, there are significant differences between rural and urban areas, between the clear rolling plains of Scania and the forest tracts of other areas. Indeed, one is impressed with the caution used in making any generalizations; Gustafsson never gets far away from his data.

Religion and Socialism

In *Socialdemokratien och Kyrkan* Gustafsson seeks to show the function of affiliation with the socialist movement in the lives of its members. This requires implication from statistical and documentary data, a task whose difficulty is fully acknowledged by the author. He studied the attitude of urban workers toward the Church in the major Swedish cities, and found that artisans were more negative toward the Church than industrial workers, that urban migrants attended church more frequently than the city born. Significant differences occur between the cities studied. Agricultural workers were more closely related to the Church than urban workers, except in certain parishes. There were significant differences between the sawmill workers in one area of Norrland and another. On the basis of his data, Gustafsson judges that the socialist movement gained its greatest strength in its first decade among workers who already had a negative attitude toward the Church, whereas church-related workers held themselves aloof from the movement. Further, where the workers' associations had a strong *class-consciousness* they were more negative toward the church than in places where this social-psychological factor was not as great. Class-consciousness appears to have been greater a-

mong poorly paid mine and quarry workers in the southern province, among those whose motive in migration (a desire for a better livelihood) was frustrated, and among artisans whose economy was threatened by mechanization. Thus class-consciousness is a key to the negative attitude toward the Church. Socialism provided the answer to the expectations and aspirations for a better life that had been denied or was threatened. The socialist ideology made more sense of the situation in which the workers lived than did the Church, impregnated as it was with the stratification system of the whole society.

Both of these books have English summaries, which are unfortunately not always clear, and a bit cluttered with jargon. The books are important, however, for the only study that in any comparable way gets at the issue of alienation of the workers from the Church is Wickham's study of Sheffield. To my knowledge there is nothing comparable on the American scene.

Women in Church and Social Life

In *Manligt-Kvinnligt-Kyrkligt* Gustafsson shifts his ground. Using a longer period of history, he seeks to isolate the culture variables involved in the changing status of women in church and social life. Since their subordinate position was ideologically defended, he describes the old Lutheran teaching on the status of women; the ideal was the virtuous chaste wife, who bore children, managed the domestic economy well, and was loved and honored by her husband. To isolate the factors involved in the changing status of women in the 19th century, Gustafsson uses three indexes: the seating arrangement in church, the use of "church spices," and the custom of "churaching" women after childbirth. The separation of men and women in church had three social-psychological functions for women: a) their inaccessibility was a mark of the preservation of their femininity, b) it contributed to their sense of solidarity as a sex, and c) it marked their independence from men. When the breakdown came, the women moved to the right (men's) side, and not vice versa. Why did the break come? a) The important emotional relations and sense of security begin to occur in the relation to men rather than to other women. E.g., young engaged and married couples led the way in breaking the custom. b) The new ideology of equality of the sexes broke some of the mystique that surrounded womanhood. c) Most decisive was the changing function of marriage, from economic necessity to personal and emotional association. Comparable types of analysis are made of the use of church spices and churaching. Gustafsson believes his analysis substantiates the hypothesis that "outer culture" is the most significant in the change; e.g. the fertile mother is no longer the

ideal, so churching of mothers loses its function. Further, the change takes place where a phenomenon's most important function occurs.

This kind of historical analysis of cultural variables is difficult at best, and one can ask for more extensive evidence that the particular functional variables isolated were the most important. E.g., the whole block of material could also be analyzed from the point of view of the functions for men in preserving their dominant status. But the book provides a rather careful and yet daring use of hypotheses from cultural anthropology in the interpretation of church and social history.

Church Geography in Sweden

The book on Swedish church geography is the best source of statistical information on Swedish church participation to be found. In addition it fills the function of Mead's *Handbook of Denominations*. Gustafsson studies the Church of Sweden, the low church movements and associations that have not separated from the Church, the various free churches, and the Catholic and Orthodox churches. He analyzes his data around the following rubrics where they are applicable: church attendance and communion frequency; numerical growth and decline; regional distribution; rural-urban distribution; occupation, age, and sex distribution; and the size of congregations. The charts are clear, and the book has many useful maps. We have in this book an inclusive study for which there is nothing comparable in the United States (for many good reasons). The internationally known antipathy of Swedes to church attendance is verified, but qualifications and differentiations of importance are made. In the last chapter the author gives a brief interpretation of some factors that might be involved, e.g., language and culture barriers, culture shock, patterns of diffusion, etc. Here as in his other books, Gustafsson's knowledge of the major literature in sociology of religion is manifest. He is at present continuing his church geography studies on a provincial and diocesan basis. While the maps and figures do not explain the dynamics of church life in Sweden, they cast the picture in bold relief, and it begs not only for further sociological discussion but theological, practical, and historical interpretation as well.

Social Attitudes and Church Attendance

In 1955 and 1956 the Swedish Institute for Opinion Research made a national survey of church participation and religious attitudes. This data was made available to Gustafsson for intensive analysis. The result is the small book, *Kristen i 50-talet Sverige*. On the basis of the Insti-

tute's sample, information is now available about a number of variables involved in church participation and moral and political attitudes. E.g., on the question of church attendance, the information is tabulated by age, income, marriage, housewife or employed woman, large city, middle city, small town, rural area, and social class. Among the moral and social issues studied are abortion, pre-marital sexual intercourse, philanthropy, use of alcoholic beverages, politics, and trade unions. The information covers both the Church of Sweden and the free churches. As in his other statistical studies, Gustafsson shows proper caution regarding both the accuracy of the figures and the implications that can be drawn from them. Allowing for a good margin of error, this book still is the most comprehensive assessment of church life in any nation that has come to my attention.

Urban Impact upon Church Life

Gustafsson guards against coloring his interpretations by his church and social reform interests, though they clearly inform his selection of subject matter. The pamphlet *1200-talskyrka* is not so much a scientific study as a pointing to implications for the Church of Sweden that can be drawn from his research and that of others. The central thesis is that the unhealth of the Church is in part due to the existence of a pattern of parish life designed for the 13th century in a society highly urbanized and industrialized. E.g., in 1700 there were 16 clergy for each 10,000 Swedes; now in the Church of Sweden there are 4 per 10,000. The average membership per parish (they use the word *forsamling*, congregation!) in the large cities is 27,440 (they go as high as 60,000 in Stockholm); in other cities the average is 10,750; in rural areas, 1,625. Gustafsson shows how the interpersonal relations that characterized the rural Swedish church life in pre-industrial times are broken, with nothing to replace them. He indicates what has been done to try to meet the crisis, and recommends the development of small churches, and meaningful small-group relations within the large parishes. Some critical prophetic implications of sociological research are thus drawn. In a Church that is more upset about the exegetical basis for ordaining or not ordaining women than it is about an effective mission to the nation's people, one wonders how seriously such implications are taken. Certainly many young pastors earnestly seek to meet the urban situation, but they are almost totally unequipped with sociological and psychological insight or training.

The chapter in the textbook on the structure of Swedish society could well bear translation and publication as a general sociological survey of Swedish religious life. It is divided according to the following sections: church ge-

ography, types of religious groups, inner structure of religious groups (recruiting patterns, leadership patterns, etc.), interdenominational relations, relations to other groups and institutions (particularly the important folk-movements, such as the workers' organizations), the effects of social milieu on religious life, and the effects of religion on social milieu.

Docent Gustafsson has provided a larger body of sociological information about church life in Sweden than is available from most countries of the world. This is due not least to his initiative, but also to the small size of the country, the reliability of church records, the general cultural interest in religion (theological debates are reported in the daily papers), and the relative homogeneity of religious life (though it is less so than in the other Nordic lands). One looks forward to the time when the author gives his imagination and theoretical reflection a freer rein than he has thus far, and perhaps we will get a magnum opus that will be useful not only in understanding the Swedish situation, but for comparative purposes as well.

A Typology of Religious Groups

Docent Ake Ström's work is of special interest to those who are concerned with the sociological interpretation of the data of the history of religions, and to those interested in theory. He divides human communities into three types: *livsgemenskap*--"life communities," i.e., groups into which one is born; *känslogemenskap*--"communities of feeling," i.e., groups built around subjective common experiences or feelings; and *intressegemenskap*--communities of interest and common work, comparable to *gesellschaft*. His typology of religious groups involves the typology of societies and, incidentally, appears to lack a common principle on the basis of which the distinctions are made. A *national religion* involves the unification of a nation state with religious life, as in a sacred kingdom. It is a life community in which civil law requires religious sanction, and in which the divine law rules social life. Ancient Israel is a special type of the national religious community. The church, in contrast, has a "purely religious orientation," with at best social consequences. It is also a life community; one is normally born into it by virtue of being a citizen, otherwise by fulfilling certain qualifications. The Roman and Orthodox Catholic churches, the Anglican Church, and Lutheran churches in Europe are examples. The church is constituted by baptism; it is also characterized by the development of certain offices. His definition of the sect is not particularly distinctive; it is a "feeling community." Ström defines a new type, the *double religion*, in which there are superior and inferior religious classes

within the community, e.g., among the Gnostics and Jehovah's Witnesses. Finally, *religious organizations* fulfill certain parts of religious functions, but do not claim the exclusive loyalty of the members, e.g., the YMCA.

The rest of Ström's book deals with the relation of religious communities to other life communities--family, clan, caste and class, and state; with the forms of expression of religious communities--teaching, myth and creeds, cults and rites, and ethics and morality (more sharply drawn within the picture than in Wach's scheme of a threefold expression); and the individual in the religious community--the common man, the king and chief, the priest and preacher, and the saved.

Like Wach and Gustav Mensching, Ström draws his material from the world's religions. If the book were not in a minor language, it would probably be discussed with the works of these men.

A Popular Treatment of Religion

Finally, Erland Sundström's *Trossamfund* is by his designation "a popular orientation to Swedish religious groups, their development and relation to each other, to the society and to folk-movements." He uses an eclectic conceptual framework drawn mostly from American sociologists to write an interesting interpretation that focusses on the emergence of lay movements and free churches. He sets the rise of the protest movements in the context of the industrialization of Sweden with all of its social implications. Among the interesting observations is the emergence of many religious awakenings and protests in Norrland, that forested and thinly populated northern two-thirds of Sweden. Here, in the absence of clerical leadership in isolated villages, there developed lay readers and prayer leaders, and a strong primary group identification in religious life. Out of this milieu have come important lay movements in the Church of Sweden, as well as separatist groups. In this area the Pentecostals are growing rapidly. Sundstrom is a good popularizer.

A Novelty in Sweden

In the literature reviewed, there are references to minor research, both published and unpublished. A book by E. H. Thörnberg on folk movements in Swedish social life, 1943, includes religious movements, and undoubtedly stimulated interest in sociology of religion. A sociologist of religion is still a novelty in Sweden; the churches and universities do not know quite where to locate him in the traditional spectrum of studies and offices. The secular sociologists are probably more interested in religion than the

theological faculties are in sociology. Perhaps an institutional framework in church or university will emerge within which the fruitful work begun can be expanded, for there are many facets of Swedish religious life yet to be explored with the concepts and methods of sociology.

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DOES SOCIAL CLASS SHAPE THE CHURCH?

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A sense of smugness about the status of their inter-group relations seems to characterize many churches since policies for integrating non-whites into their congregations have been initiated or strengthened. Accepting racial integration on paper is not the end of such problems for the church, however; it often is but the beginning. Negroes in America belong predominantly to the laboring or lower classes. The majority of white Protestant churches have a membership that is drawn chiefly from the middle classes. Problems of integration across social and economic boundaries will therefore complicate the problems of racial integration. We may with some justification ask if churches which are unable to integrate with lower-class white people ought even to propose that they try to integrate with lower class Negroes.

This is but one facet of the complicated and many-sided subject of social class and the church. The purpose of the present paper is to suggest some practical and theoretical problems of churches pertinent to social class which ought to be the subjects of research and study. This paper has grown out of a recent workshop conducted by members of the Religious Research Association. The opinions which are implicitly expressed may be considered "hunches," hypotheses, or "educated guesses"; as such they should be considered only as tentative and subject to change if contradictory evidence emerges. The fifteen topics listed are intended only to be suggestive, and the accompanying discussion of each is not exhaustive even of the basic problems associated with the topic.

1. *Attitudes and values of the social classes.* If there are truly distinct social classes, each of these will tend to have an outlook on life that is different from the others. The nature of the underlying attitudes of the social classes and their influences upon religious beliefs and behavior need study. It would be instructive to know whether or not the values of the various social classes are assimilated into the value systems of the churches in which the respective classes are the most strongly represented. Judging from past history in connection with war, slavery, colonialism, and numerous other political and social issues, it is easy for groups with strong biases to find religious support and rationalizations for their positions.

2. *Christian values relevant to social class.* What is the system of values held by the church relevant to social class? New Testament teachings about the relationships of slaves and their masters, the bond and the free, and the rich and the poor (Gal. 3:28, Eph. 2:11-22, James 2:1-9, etc.) are especially pertinent as a basis for establishing the ideal position of the contemporary Christian church on the subject of social-class distinctions. Is it possible to escape the conclusion that socioeconomic discrimination is much more clearly condemned in the New Testament than racial discrimination?

In this connection we may ask if churches ought to be class-related institutions, i.e., institutions that draw their membership primarily from one social-class level of society. If so, they might serve as the integrating institution for certain socioeconomic groups which otherwise can have little or no recognition and power in society at large. (The Negro church has often met this need.) What functions other than those directly concerned with worship ought class-related churches to perform and which do they perform for their members and for society? Do class-related churches bring injury to the Christian witness in the world? Ought the church to conform to the general pattern of class distinctions in society, or ought it instead to try to transform society to fit the ideals of Christianity more nearly in an attempt to play a redemptive role?

3. *Fellowship in the church.* If the local church ought to consist of a "communion of the saints," a "fellowship of believers," or a group characterized by the meeting of minds and a sense of community, it is possible that it must include only members who are similar to one another socially and economically. Otherwise the heterogeneity of backgrounds, interests and values, living conditions, and the like may prohibit true fellowship from taking place. Economic and social distinctions indeed do appear to hinder complete fellowship; how much can the wealthy businessman and the day-laborer have in common? If it is impossible for this fellowship to be present on a church-wide basis, are small special-interest groups or cliques within the larger church a solution to the problems related to socioeconomic diversities? While scientific research cannot answer the basic questions of values, it can help to discover under what conditions it is possible to have church fellowship that crosses the boundaries so often imposed by social-class distinctions.

4. *Social-class influences on ethics and theology.* It has been observed that concepts of sin and standards for church membership are in some groups class related, but whether or not they are necessarily so is open to question.

For example, does the belief that the use of alcoholic beverages is sinful tend to be emphasized in lower-class churches and absent among those of the upper classes, or are religiously based or religiously justified ethics pertinent to the use of alcohol independent of society's class structure? Even theological doctrines may be to some extent class related.

5. *Church unity and disunity.* Differences of opinion about practical programs of action on the local or denominational level, even when the basic goals are agreed upon, may be an outgrowth of differential interests, values, and viewpoints of the different social classes. Patterns of denominational unity and disunity may similarly reflect class differentials in the membership. If doctrinal viewpoints are influenced by social-class considerations, disunity on doctrinal grounds is especially likely to be present in those denominations that include congregations which represent several different levels of society.

6. *Church activities.* Church programs of the groups that appeal primarily to the lower classes in society often stress types of music, sermons, sermon appeals, social activities, programs of evangelism, and standards of membership that differ radically from those of the typical upper-middle-class church. The degree to which there is a necessary relationship between social class and church activities needs much additional study. Are churches that strive to serve the entire community more likely than others to be confronted with internal strife because of class-related expectations of the members? How much must denominational programs be adapted to meet the needs and interests of the various social classes? To what extent must clergymen modify their ministerial roles in dealing with people from different class levels of society? Insufficient attention has been given to such topics as these in the past.

7. *Evangelism and social class.* In their programs of evangelistic expansion and church extension, some Protestant groups appear to have adopted a policy of expanding among the population which is in the upper portion of the socio-economic structure. If economically prosperous people and areas are thus stressed by several groups, it is possible that large segments of the population will be relatively unchurched in the future. Even though such a policy is not deliberately adopted by the churches, if their programs of expansion are limited in their appeal only to certain segments of the population, the ultimate effect may be the same. What factors attract and which keep what kinds of people away from the churches? It is possible that the poor are barred from many churches as effectively as Negroes have been, even though church leaders may have been entirely un-

aware of the fact.

8. *Is Protestantism a "middle-class religion"?* The distinctive language patterns of the various social classes, the patterns of interest and of aesthetic appreciation, and the difficulty or ease of practically applying the teachings of the churches to the daily lives of people from different occupational groups may have contributed a great deal to the low degree to which the lower classes are reached by the older Protestant bodies and to the relatively high degree of middle-class churching. The ethical teaching set forth by the church may be made explicitly and directly applicable only for those who are in white-collar, professional, and business occupations, thus contributing to a feeling by the "working classes" that there is nothing relevant in the Christian message for them.

9. *Sect-church trends.* It has been observed in the study of several religious groups that sects tend to emerge from the churches and, in time, grow into church-like institutions themselves, thus occasioning the emergence of new sects. In the American setting it is difficult to determine whether there indeed has been the rise in class position of the members of these groups that is usually assumed to have taken place or whether their apparently improved class position is basically only a reflection of generally improved economic conditions in society as a whole. Do sects really change into denominations? Is this change related to changes in the social-class membership of the church members? If so, is the improving economic status of the members more important? What changes related to the social stratification of sect members take place both in and outside the religious group when sects change into churches?

10. *New sects and cults.* It has been assumed commonly that the growth of new religious groups is a direct reflection of the tendency of established religious groups to meet the needs religiously and socially of only the middle and perhaps upper segments of society while the lower classes "starve" religiously or psychologically until they find a new cult to meet their needs. It is possible that many of the studies bearing upon this hypothesis have not truly tested this generalization to discover if it must necessarily operate, but instead have only illustrated it as they have shown its possibility. Crucial tests of this hypothesis are needed before it can be accepted confidently as fact and not primarily armchair speculation.

11. *Role changes in society and church membership.* Occasionally persons who are changing their roles in society or their positions in the class structure also change their church memberships. How often this occurs, under what cir-

cumstances, and with what effects upon the church need systematic study. Do people from the lower social classes seek *gemeinschaft*-like and those from the upper classes *gesellschaft*-like relationships in the church? Is consciousness of kind in the socioeconomic sense related to selection of the church in which one becomes a member?

12. *Leadership, power, and bureaucracy in the church.* There is evidence that the leadership and power structures of many churches are distinctly influenced by the social class structure outside of the church. Here again the question of whether or not this ought to be so is involved in any basic policies churches may undertake to establish. The degree to which the bureaucratic structure of the church is class related may be learned by discovering who within the church (or perhaps even outside of it!) make the basic decisions; social science research thus can be helpful in understanding why social-action patterns of churches are what they are. While the behavior of individuals varies considerably from one social role to another, each individual having many social statuses, it is possible that in the church one's social status is determined largely by his position in the socioeconomic structure outside the church or by his economic contributions to the church. Of course, status in the church and in other institutions of society may both be derivatives of other common influences.

13. *Recruitment and training of the ministry.* The social sources of the clergy and their training in middle- and upper-class virtues may also progressively help to alienate the working classes from the church. The mental processes, vocabulary, social interests, recreational patterns, and socioeconomic values of the clergy may identify them with groups for whom the lower classes have little respect and thus result in gradual weakening of the church's direct influence upon the lower socioeconomic groups. Preferential treatment of church members, visitors to the church, and especially prospective church members may be an unconscious result in the work of the clergy operating both as cause and effect of the linkage of the religious and social class systems.

14. *Ministerial success and failure.* "Success" in the ministry may reflect directly the extent to which the clergy adapt themselves to demands resulting from the places their church members fill in the socioeconomic structure of society as a whole. At least as measured in materialistic, "worldly" terms, this often appears to be the case. Content analysis of sermons, study of the vocabulary used and topics dealt with by pastors, and other research could help to indicate the class-related values (or biases!) of preachers and to show the degree to which the religious appeals and

values advocated are applicable only to limited segments of society or support the vested interests of one social segment at the expense of others.

15. *Love as the solution.* The solution to problems related to social class is sometimes said to be Christian or agape love. "Love" is, however, such a broad term that it must be interpreted into specific programs of action before it can be applied on any but the most elementary levels. That which at first seems to be dictated by the highest of motivations may in the course of events prove to be cruel and injurious in its long-range effects. Painstaking study, research, and experimentation must therefore precede and accompany attempts to solve the problems of churches which are related to socioeconomic class distinctions in society.

SPECIAL CONFERENCE ON CHURCH PLANNING AND RESEARCH A Study in Creative Conflict

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Some conferences are placid affairs which leave little indication of any significant impact either upon the participants or upon the substantive field involved. Other conferences succeed in stimulating enthusiasm and in creating an atmosphere in which constructive work is done to the end that they mark turning points in thinking and acting for many people. There are numerous conferences which fall into the former category, few which fit the latter.

While it is true that realistic appraisal is impossible until the evaluative force of time has been felt, it is usually possible to arrive at some judgment as to the significance of a conference by the time adjournment has been reached. In a way, this is what is required of the author of this paper, for this is to be a report on a very recent meeting, a session which cannot be fully evaluated for many years.

Interdisciplinary Conference in Indianapolis

Preliminary plans for the Consultation on Personnel Needs in Church Planning and Research gave no indication that the sessions would be unusual in any way. The conference was called primarily to discuss the problems involved

in recruiting and training men for positions with denominations and councils of churches. This Consultation was held in Indianapolis, November 18-20, 1959. It was sponsored by the Bureau of Research and Survey and the Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches, and was financed by a grant from the Lilly Endowment, Inc. Participants included social scientists, city planners, theologians, denominational and interdenominational leaders, and practitioners in church survey and planning work at local and regional levels. A report will be available eventually from either of the sponsoring agencies.

The preparatory materials discussed the need for church planning in relation to the rapid changes in our national life. The statement which presented the needs for the conference, and the purposes for which it was held, began with the following sentences:

More than \$800,000,000 was expended for new church buildings in 1957. The nagging question of how wisely this vast sum was invested cannot be answered under the existing inadequate church planning and research resources. This is one symptom of how expanding America is generating forces which are pressing the Church into an accelerated program of planning and research. The population explosion, the emerging metropolis, large-scale new construction and re-development in urban regions, and the persistent patterns of mobility are examples of these forces. Their pressure stimulates demands upon the Church far exceeding its present resources. These demands are for unprecedented expansion of its physical plant, new services in its ministry, a variety of adjustments in location patterns, the development of strategic priorities, and tactics which will deploy its resources most effectively.

Basic papers were prepared for presentation on the first day. Leaders were chosen for the workshops, and assignment of participants was made to the groups. The agenda appeared to be routine in every respect. However, it became apparent early in the session that there were elements present which had not been considered when the program was set up. These were the elements of tension and conflict--tension and conflict involving individuals with different backgrounds and different disciplinary orientation, tension and conflict between widely divergent ideological and theoretical points of view.

Such a situation is always a challenge to a group and

can be met in a number of ways. In some situations, of course, the tensions and conflict are strong enough to break up the group process and result in the frustration and failure to achieve any desired goals. However, an effort can be made to control the conflict so that the group is carried along toward the pre-determined goals. Conflict and tension can be creative, however, and can lead to effective process and to accomplishments which go beyond original plans. On the basis of the experience of the group in the Consultation on Personnel Needs in Church Planning and Research and subsequent preliminary evaluation, it appears to be true that here was a conference which provides a fairly good example of creative conflict in action in the group process.

The summary presented here will deal largely with the content of the conflict and some of the results. Process analysis cannot be undertaken in the brief scope of this report. Neither can direct attention be given to the substantive content, which will be covered in the conference report.

What Is Planning?

The concept of planning was the first area of observable tension and conflict. Planning obviously meant different things to different people. To those engaged in planning in local and regional governmental agencies it was clearly defined as the process involved in their day-to-day on-the-job activities. In other words it was the product of their experience. To some churchmen it was primarily concerned with new church development and church extension. Some participants, with a somewhat more theoretical and philosophical background, thought of planning as a program imposed upon others by an elite. Still others talked about strategy development and goal definition, emphasizing more general, long-range aspects of church planning.

Here was an adequate base for the development of conflict. Each idea was, of course, related to the background, training, occupation, and value system of the individual holding the idea. Each idea became the rallying point for a vocal but articulate group. Discussions continued long after the official sessions for the day were terminated.

The formal and informal processes of discussion produced some constructive and creative results. The group began to think in new terms about planning as a process. It may well be that the greatest contribution of the conference was at this point.

Planning became a process as the conference progressed. It was no longer just a job to be done by a planner. It was

a dialogue, a continuing dialogue involving the face-to-face confrontation of the church and the society in which it lives. In the local community and the region this means conversation and interchange between the churches and the community and regional structures and organizations. Out of this conversation there must develop the decisions, choices, and adjustments which might be called a "plan."

Thus the church planner became, for the conference, the "man in the middle." He was the initiator and sustainer of a two-way conversation with the necessary understanding to mediate and interpret. He was referred to as a "chaplain of social organization." His role was defined as that of a "catalyst of interchange," and a "coordinator of the process of encounter."

Furthermore, this process forced the conference to add a theological dimension. Actually, this dialogue is between the church and the world and provides a means for the church to be a mission.

This type of analysis proved to be a satisfactory basis for group consensus. Without doubt it was the first time that such a diversified group had ever seriously confronted the subject and certainly it was the first time such a group had moved toward agreement on it.

Obviously it would have been advantageous if this discussion process had preceded the consideration of such topics as recruitment and training. In reality, it continued throughout the conference so that work groups were attacking the recruitment and training problems while the concept of planning was being clarified. The important factor, however, was the fact that these related problems, which were, after all, the purposes for which the conference was called in the first place, were not dealt with in isolation. The work groups recognized the fact that they were not dealing with a clearly defined and commonly accepted concept and found it necessary to spend time in conceptualization.

The net result of all this was that the consultation became a conference centered on planning and the planner. The definition of the process and the role of the person involved, the place of it all in the life of the churches, and what this means for recruitment and training, were in reality the theme of the consultation.

What Is Research?

Where did research fit into this picture? To answer this question, it is necessary to give some consideration to another basic conflict which became apparent, namely, the

conflict between research and planning. Here again individual differences emerged with strength and vigor. For some, research could only mean the serious testing of hypotheses, soundly based on theory, by the use of highly refined methodological procedures. There were members of the group who felt that a survey type of research designed to collect data which are largely ecological and demographic in nature is sufficient for church planning. Unfortunately this conflict was not fully resolved, if resolved at all. To be sure, the process of sharpening the definition of planning did involve some consideration of the role of research, but this was limited. Any serious consideration of the research facet of the total problem will require another consultation, focusing on research as this one came to focus on planning.

Having said this, it must also be stated that the emphasis on planning constantly pointed toward the importance of research. Most of the time this was implicit but at other times it was made quite explicit. Furthermore, the conference process clearly separated the functions of planning and research. The planning process became a "consumer" of research, and it was agreed that planning was impossible without research. But the group never did get to a forthright consideration of research itself and its role, not only in church planning but also in the total life of the church.

There seemed to be agreement that, at the local and regional levels, problems of personnel and finance may often require that the functions of research and planning be combined in one person. When this is true, it may be necessary for this person to limit his research to surveys and to the analysis of secondary data. Obviously such research cannot probe some of the most important problems confronting the churches.

Unexplored Problems

The problem of liaison between the continuing research in the social sciences and the planning process received little attention. This is another question that remains for the next conference, which it is hoped will concentrate on research. Some way must be found to make such liaison effective lest the planning dialogue proceed with only limited resources of theory and fact.

Many other questions remained unanswered when the time of adjournment arrived. How can a bridge be built between the concept of church planning which emerged from the conference and the actual reality which is church planning in many places today? How do we distinguish between "church planning" at local and regional levels as it was discussed

in the Indianapolis sessions and the "long-range planning" which involves the church's effort to confront the challenge of its mission in society? What are the chances of actually implementing a program of church planning based on the Indianapolis concept? And, of course, where does research fit into the total picture, and how do we recruit and train personnel for the research job?

Creative Conflict Explained

About now, someone is asking himself how anyone could call this consultation an example of creative conflict. It raised more problems than it solved. It left unanswered some of the most important questions back of the calling of the conference. It almost redirected the work of the planning committee which set it up, or at least gave its attention to only a part of planned conference content.

There are several reasons for calling the Consultation on Personnel Needs in Church Planning and Research an example of creative conflict. In the first place, the conflicts and tensions were brought out in the open and recognized by the group. The discussion then moved to an attack upon a basic cause of the conflict, the unresolved concept of planning. In sharpening the definition of the process, real creativity was shown and a melding of the disciplinary backgrounds was evident. Limited application of the refinements in the concept was made to such particular problems as recruitment and training. The underlying importance of research was never overlooked. All of this adds up to a creative experience.

It can only be hoped that, in the follow-up stages, the creative spirit will not be submerged in the routines of ecclesiastical bureaucracy and that, in the not too distant future, the same creativity may be applied to the tensions that cluster around the question of the role of research in religion.

REVIEWS OF CURRENT BOOKS

The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans. By W. Lloyd Warner. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959. 528 pp., \$7.50

In this final volume of the Yankee City Series, Professor Warner deals with the symbolic life of Americans, or at least a sample of Americans. Symbolic life means for Warner not the whole process of social life as it is mediated through communicative symbols, but rather the non-rational use of language and action to express, channel, integrate, and control the feelings that are aroused by the experiences in the natural world of the human species, as these are in turn shared by and related to the life of the social group. All sections of the book are of interest: the symbolic significance of the politician Biggy Muldoon, the symbolism of a tri-centenary celebration, the symbolic functions of Memorial Day Celebrations and cemeteries, and, finally, the importance of religious symbol systems. But readers of this journal will probably be most interested in the last section on religious symbolism and in the final three chapters of the book which deal with "Theory and Method for the Study of Symbolic Life."

While there is an ordering of data in the section on religious symbolism, there is no real testing of hypotheses, nor can there be. Rather there is a detailed analysis of Christian theology, particularly Roman Catholic theology, from the theoretical perspective that is stated in the last three chapters. In this sort of analysis there is no real "scientific" test of the informing theory and hypotheses. All that there can be is a question of how well the data are ordered and whether all significant ranges of data are included. This, combined with the ability or lack of ability to carry conviction to the reader that this is the way things really are, exhausts the question of the validity of the analysis. Such a statement is not meant to be critical, but to describe the facts of the situation as they prevail in so many of our most important areas of investigation and research.

Professor Warner has a point of view and a set of informing hypotheses rooted in his view of man. Man is a creature of feeling and reason whose species life is such that he has impulses which are not compatible with the exigencies of organized social life; and he has fears of death and contingency which require that he be reassured. The moral order regulates and prohibits behavior which would directly manifest disruptive impulses centering around the relations of the nuclear family and simultaneously reassures

the person against the fear of death. Theology then is to be understood not as a system of propositions logically related to one another, but as expressions of non-rational feelings non-logically related to one another, or, perhaps better, related by a psycho-logic. In this context Roman Catholic beliefs about the Virgin Mary, the conception of the Church as the Bride of Christ, and the Protestant rejection of the worship of Mary are interpreted, as well as the doctrine of the Trinity. Warner takes all these beliefs seriously, even to the point of arguing that they may get at truths deeper than those at which science arrives, and that the psychological and social processes by which they arise may have to be used as methods of gaining knowledge. Further they are to be treated with reverence and respect. But the truth which they contain is truth about man and his species life for man; and whatever knowledge the processes give rise to is knowledge of man as he is rooted in nature. Non-rationality is simply that irrationality which is functional. It is to be treated with reverence and respect because it is human.

Throughout Warner's analysis is the stress on the idea that the believers believe these ideas because they *feel* they are true, and that, believing them, the believers have performed for them the functions of expression and reassurance. It is obvious, however, that the truth which the believer perceives is not the same truth that Warner sees. Until Warner or someone else finds some way of translating the truth of the believer into the truth of the anthropologist, so that both may believe the same way in the same symbols, the gulf between the scientific observer and the religious actor must remain forever unbridged. Unless, perhaps, religion is not what Warner thinks it is, but is rather a commitment to something of ultimate concern, *man*, for example; and theology is not a body of expressive symbols related by psycho-logic, but rather a body of logically interrelated propositions making unprovable yet cognitive claims about the object of ultimate concern; as for example, the proposition that man is a creature whose only mode of orientation other than that of reason is that of feeling and whose non-rational or non-empirical symbols, therefore, must be projections of feeling and impulse.

William L. Kolb, Carleton College

The Structure of Nations and Empires. By Reinhold Niebuhr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959. 306 pp., \$5.00.

This is a book which will undoubtedly have a mixed reception. There may be those who will agree with the dust jacket that "this is perhaps Dr. Niebuhr's most ambitious and most important book to date." There are others, I am

sure, who will see it as additional evidence that the emperor, has no clothes on, and that the great Niebuhrian system of thought is finally revealed as an empty vessel of ambitious design.

The book is an exercise in political and historical philosophy rather than in theology. Its main theme is supposed to be empire, as a system of government larger than the parochial or national state, but smaller than the world society. The book is pervaded by a curiously cryptic admiration for empire as an institution, which the author seems almost ashamed to admit. Consequently, the style is frequently oblique; one has the feeling that the author does not quite say what he feels because, in the light of the fashions of our day, he is almost obliged to be slightly ashamed of it. If a theme can be detected, it seems to be that man is too sinful a creature to be capable of world order, but not quite stupid enough to be content with merely parochial nationalisms. Empire, therefore, in one form or another, is a suitable halfway house for a miserable halfway creature like man situated as he seems to be in the strange limbo between the animal and the divine.

The book opens with the theme of the two imperial nations of today: America and Russia. The underlying concern is clearly the challenge which the new Communist imperium presents to the older imperia of the West. We then plunge into a long historical review going back to biblical times and extending towards the present day. There is an attack in Chapter 11 on the "vain universalism of liberal democracy" which reads strangely like the Communist attempt on cosmopolitanism. The book concludes with several chapters on the current world situation, ending with the discussion of the nuclear dilemma. A final chapter on the creative and destructive possibilities of human freedom links the work with much of Niebuhr's previous thinking.

I must confess that I found this a depressing and discouraging book to read. There is little hope for mankind in it, and little resolution of the present dilemmas. Its main message seems to be that the United States should become the center of a new British Empire, though this is conveyed in hints rather than in outright statement. Violence seems to be the only real arbiter in the world, justice is hopeless, the United Nations is impotent, and Eisenhower should have supported the British at Suez. The United States must "acknowledge the imperial dimensions of its power and accept the responsibilities which are the concomitance of power." (p. 259.)

The writing is learned and brilliant, and unusually clear and easy to understand. Nevertheless one cannot help being struck and saddened in the mature work of the leading Christian theologian of our day by what seems to be the total irrelevance of Christ. There are fewer references in the index to Christ than there are to St. Augustine, Hobbes, Lenin, Khrushchev, and Stalin, and no more than to Machiavel-

Lenin, Khrushchev, and Stalin, and no more than to Machiavelli. This surely is evidence that neo-orthodoxy has elevated Christ to a position of supreme irrelevance. This seems to me to be not only bad theology but bad political science. Niebuhr's political thought seldom rises above the level of political journalism. He has little sense of the deep and subtle dynamics of human society and surprisingly little sense of the place of moral and spiritual leadership and ideas in this dynamic. The choice he seems to offer us is between Marx and Kipling. Surely there must be something better than this, and it should be the duty of the Christian political philosopher to find it. I am sure, however, that there are those who will disagree with me in this judgment; and it is impossible, of course, for a book by Niebuhr to be without a few penetrating judgments and thought-provoking observations. As a contribution to Christian political thought, however, I must regard this work as a failure, and not only as a failure in itself but as a failure of a whole line of thought. It is a monument to the moral bankruptcy and intellectual impotence of an interim ethic. I write these words sadly, respecting Niebuhr as a man, admiring him as an intellect, and deploring him as an influence; but unless some new thinker can arise to bring Christ back to Christianity, I see little hope either for the Christian Church or for the world.

Kenneth E. Boulding, University of Michigan

The Freudian Ethic: An Analysis of the Subversion of American Character. By Richard LaPiere. New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1959. 299 pp., \$5.00.

Professor LaPiere's thesis can perhaps be summarized in these words: Freudianism is an ethic, a quasi-religious sect, not a science; it has won widespread acceptance in America because it harmonizes with and supports a number of basic trends; these trends, partly caused by the growth of the Freudian ethic, partly simply supported by it, can be seen in the family, the school, the work situation, the treatment of criminals, the appearance of an "adjustment motif," and the growth of "political maternalism"; with few qualifications these changes are seen by Dr. LaPiere to be bad, to represent "the subversion of American character."

In a superficial way, the book can be classed with *The Lonely Crowd* and *Organization Man*. With Riesman and Whyte, the author underlines the presumed loss of individual initiative, the domination by the group, the growing pressures toward conformity. LaPiere has a lively style and a fine talent for challenging easy assumptions that together should pave the way for his analysis. Unhappily these virtues are outweighed by serious shortcomings. Where Riesman's "oth-

er-directedness" and Whyte's "social ethic" emerge, despite the lack of systematic evidence, as cogent hypotheses, deserving careful exploration, LaPiere's "Freudian ethic" emerges as a caricature. He has a tendency to exaggerate that will alienate all but those already dedicated to his thesis. To those who fervently agree, his will be the voice of the prophet crying in the wilderness--"return ye, return ye"; but to others, there will be only the voice of reaction, of lament for a day that is past, without constructive appraisal of the problems and potentialities of the present.

In two chapters that describe the Freudian view of man, LaPiere plays down the complexities and ambiguities in favor of a simple outline of its basic tenets. To those who see psychoanalysis as a cult, this will seem appropriate (although there will be quarrels over the appropriate emphasis).

To those who are interested in asking whether the Freudian theories may make some contribution to an emerging science and therapy of human behavior, however, the author's discussion is of little value. In any event, the idea that Freud was fully sympathetic with extreme permissiveness and an emphasis on adjustment seems wide of the mark. One could equally make a case for the thesis that Freud came to a sad and reluctant conclusion that society required repression.

The impression one gets from each of the chapters that follows is one of exaggeration that distorts a potentially valuable critique. Describing the "cult of everything for baby," LaPiere writes: "No demands should be made upon him; every concession should be made to him; and every waking moment of his life should be attended by some adult, preferably mother." (p. 92.) Progressive education is pictured, not as an effort (effective or ineffective--a moot question) to improve methods of teaching and to broaden the goals of schools, but as an abandonment of interest in learning, for progressive educators are "concerned solely with the psychological welfare of the individual." The discussion of education is tied subtly to a political philosophy that becomes more apparent in later chapters. It perhaps can be described in the following quotations:

"The truth is, however, that society is everywhere the negation of equality....The social need for truly educated men is small at best....The failure of our school system to produce mass intellectuality may be amusing, pathetic, and even ludicrous; but it is in no way crucial," (p. 113-114.)

One manifestation of the Freudian ethic is presumably the appearance of an adjustment motif, to replace the energy and initiative of those who followed the Protestant ethic. Adjustment is passive conformity, the path of least effort. To the counselors, psychoanalysts, progressive educators, and others who are supposed to promote the adjustment mo-

tif, "the ideal individual is the one who is content to accept things as they are, who is uncritical, who is undisturbed by contradictions in the world around him, who never resents, rebels against, or becomes indignant over anything he may encounter." (p. 131.) The author is dealing with an important problem--it deserves a more careful treatment than this kind of exaggeration.

Lack of space prevents the description of LaPiere's view in chapters on "Condonation of Crime," "The New Bourgeoisie" (one of the last strongholds of the Protestant ethic, but in danger of succumbing), "Modern Guildism" (in bureaucracy and union), "Political Maternalism," and "The Security Goal." They cumulatively describe the author's fear that the Freudian ethic is smothering all sense of responsibility and initiative and express his conservative (even reactionary--in the descriptive, non-swear-word sense of the term) political views. Leaving the gold standard, allowing the public debt to rise, permitting chronic inflation are expressions of the "irresponsibility of government." Price support programs mark "the degradation of the American farmer"; and the social security system raises the fundamental question of its long-range effects on "the character of the American people."

A serious study of the ways in which changes in modern society affect its members--affect their values, their motives, their relationships with others--could be of enormous value. How changes in "character," in turn, affect the society from which they spring is of equal importance. I am sorry to conclude that Professor LaPiere has done little to advance our understanding of this subtle, ambiguous, and often poignant process.

J. Milton Yinger, Oberlin College

Psychology of Religion (Revised and Enlarged). By Paul E. Johnson, New York: Abingdon Press, 1959. 304 pp., \$5.00. *Readings in the Psychology of Religion*. Edited by Orlo Strunk, Jr. New York: Abingdon Press, 1959. 288 pp., \$4.50.

One rejoices that the corpse of the psychology of religion, which many social scientists had thought they had buried, now is coming to life. Johnson, one of the authors under present review, for many years has been the most persistent among those who have refused to let the undertaker haul it away. Instead the erstwhile funeral is fast turning into a consultation. New investigators, with a light in their eyes, are arriving to protest that they had known all that time that there was life in the corpse, and new books in the field are springing up on all sides. These two books from the same publisher both encompass the past and presage

the future.

A comparison of Johnson's revised title with the first edition will be sufficient indication of progress made. In its day the latter volume, though sketchy, was the best there was. The revised edition is much richer. The style is improved, it is more abundant in well chosen case illustrations, and taken as a whole it is a witness to the growth both of the author and the field in which he has labored so faithfully.

Doubtless, like all psychologies of religion to date and despite contemporary references, the book will seem behind the psychological times to some modern minds. This is partly due to the fact that orthodox psychologists for many years have been experiencing creeping flesh at the very thought of studying religion, so that some of the soundest work in the field was done years ago. Religious scholars, on their part, have regarded psychology with averted gaze and only recently have begun to peek through their fingers mostly at its pastoral and depth aspects. But Johnson's book seeks to cover the whole field. If he succeeds only moderately well in the next-to-impossible task of welding the welter of modern personality speculation into a coherent theory of the religious personality, his book is, nevertheless, readable, clear, and informative.

Strunk strives to steer between coverage and depth in his *Readings*, some of which are of satisfying length and others exceedingly brief. The most successful section of his book is that on history, comprising over a third of the volume and representing the best readily available source of information about this area that there is. It is regrettable that the publishers did not yield the editor more space for his remaining five sections. But despite this he has managed to present all of the writers important to the psychology of religion in its American tradition, as well as others who have something significant to say.

The two volumes will make a very good team for teachers of the subject looking for class texts. Besides being excellent introductions to the field, they will also be instructive for others who wish to inform themselves of the psychology of religion in its full scope. They happily demonstrate that reports of the death of the psychology of religion have been grossly exaggerated.

Walter Houston Clark, Hartford Seminary Foundation

Human Potentialities. By Gardner Murphy. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958. 340 pp. \$6.00

This is an interpretation of man's three natures and a program for the survival and improvement of man. It draws on the psychological, sociological, ethnological, and an-

thropological sciences and interrelates the findings around a broad, optimistic, humane philosophy. Nowhere is religion excluded, but much that theologians and students of religion would desire is mission, because nowhere is religion really examined in terms of its bearing on the human condition or destiny.

This is an eschatology based on tremendous faith in the genic heritage, in the possibilities of evolution to continue, and in expanding horizons, each constituting a new baseline for a forward thrust into the brighter future. Dangers are seen, but somehow do not register as likely to be disastrous.

The first human nature, essentially a product of the evolutionary process, is "a constantly changing model upon which ever-changing forces work." The second arises with "the emergence of culture." The third human nature is "the quest for understanding." Each of the latter two arises from the preceding stage(s) but all three are ours to deal with today.

Most effectively handled was the material dealing with perception and cognition on the one hand, and of creativity on the other. Thoughtful and original thinking and excellent integration have gone into the entire book and the richness of the author's background shines through on every page.

The chapter on moral issues deals searchingly with the shifting values of civilization and of science. The problem of *planning* and "who has the right to plan for whom" leads into the questions of hedonism versus conflict, the possibilities of submission, and the great issue of freedom. Hard and soft determinism are contrasted and the place of order in a free world is examined.

The author's final note is optimistic and goes beyond simply "an extrapolation of the present" to the anticipation of "a leaping into existence of new realms of experience--new in kind."

The learned and humane author is not only scholarly and urbane, but he is also witty and realistic. His allusions to the fine points, as well as a global view of the whole world of science, again and again makes the book a delight to read.

I fear that, like most Utopias, the book is more a judgment than a promise. It does represent an inescapable demand upon today's researcher: namely, that, no matter how specialized he may be, he must maintain a holistic perspective. While Murphy never closes the door to broader horizons for the future, many religious thinkers would feel that such a holistic approach should also refer to the theological dimension of life. How to do this is another question because it will be a long time before researchers in religion have data and theory of comparable maturity to that so

well synthesized by the author. It is to this level of perception, organization, and creativity that such research must develop, both to take its place beside the other contributions to a holistic view of man--and also to give to religion what science has given to civilization.

Earl A. Loomis, Jr., Union Theological Seminary
Program in Psychiatry and Religion

Organized Religion and the Older Person. Edited by Delton L. Scudder. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958. 113 pp., \$2.50.

In a field of growing significance, this timely book should find a receptive audience. It presents the papers on religion and geriatrics delivered at the Eighth Annual Southern Conference on Gerontology held in 1958 at the University of Florida.

The nine contributors in as many chapters include Seaward Hiltner, "A Theology of Aging"; Milton L. Barron, "The Role of Religious Institutions in Creating the Milieu of Older People"; Ruth E. Albrecht, "The Meaning of Religion to Older People--the Social Aspect"; and Samuel W. Blizzard, "Expanding the Role of Organized Religion to the Aged." Other contributors, who largely stress practical implications, include a psychiatrist, a medical doctor, a Protestant clergyman, and the director of the Hebrew Home for the Aged. Conspicuously absent from these discussions is any account of the thought and work of Roman Catholics.

This book clears away much of the dense underbrush in its critical scrutiny of "conventional wisdom" regarding the aged. Nearly all the authors report that religiosity does not increase with age, that chronic illness is not necessarily a concomitant of aging, and that the current cultural accent on youth tends toward neglect of our senior citizens. Another dominant concern is the plea that what is most needed for and by the aged in American society is not more facilities and programs, but rather, a perspective which enables self-understanding and self-acceptance, despite the sense of loss and loneliness.

Perhaps it is inevitable that unevenness should mark a book with so many diverse contributors addressing themselves to a conference theme which is not given more precise definition. There is much generalizing from one or two known cases or studies. In some chapters undue reliance is placed on personal experience, and a few contributors are guilty of much moralizing and exhorting. Nevertheless the chapters by Hiltner and Barron and the excellent bibliography are alone well worth the price of the volume. Too bad there is so little evidence of mutual conversation and interchange at a

time and place and on a subject which would profit much from interdisciplinary give-and-take.

Robert Lee, Union Theological Seminary

The Church as Employer, Money Raiser, and Investor. By F. Ernest Johnson and J. Emory Ackerman. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959. 184 pp., \$4.00.

This volume, the tenth in the Series on Ethics and Economic Life, was fortunately authored. Both authors are thoroughly acquainted with the disciplines such a study demanded. They probed with sympathy and understanding the uneasy conscience of the church in its economic practices.

The authors set out "to examine the economic practices of the Protestant churches and their agencies in the light of standards they have themselves proposed in the realms of secular economy."

Their examination was enlightening. They found that the spirit was willing, but that the churches and their agencies did not manage to come up to the standards they advocated for the secular economy. As far as they dared, they exempted the church from measuring up to those standards on the basis of the character of the church, its aims, its role in society, and because of the very nature of its organization. They did not, by any means, give the church a clean slate, nor did they deny its shortcomings.

The chapter on "How Well Does the Church Pay Its Employees?" and the twenty-six tables in Appendix II present a wealth of detailed information on salaries, miscellaneous allowances, and vacations for church employees. The salaries of ministers were low, those of some lay employees, sextons, for example, were incredibly low. When I saw the average annual salaries paid church employees, I wished that some provision had been made for salary comparisons with secular occupations, just to find out with what wage earners they might have been paired. With carpenters? Above? Below?

Apparently church pension and retirement programs fall below secular standards. They do not fall because of lack of concern, for the churches have been and are striving to improve and to enlarge their areas of benefits. The secular economy offers more, or better, unemployment and sickness benefits along with social security than the church. For the most part, church employees have to obtain many such benefits outside the church. Improved church norms would require larger financial outlays on the part of both the church and its employee. Such increases would therefore require drastic rethinking of present practices. Perhaps church employees will have to turn outside the church to

secular agencies to obtain the higher standards advocated and sought.

The personnel practices of the church fall short of the secular standards in some areas. The secular economy includes standards governing overtime, health examinations, and medical counselling, for example, far more consistently and covering more employees than does the church. However, the church surpasses secular standards in providing vacations and in placing workers better. Again, collective bargaining and employee organizations are rare in the church.

The money-raising methods which are sanctioned by the church are those most widely sanctioned under secular auspices. Influential churchmen, however, showed wide disparities in ethical judgments on the same methods. Certain emphases or principles seemed to emerge in the chapter, such as, "Ends did not justify the means." Undue pressures, of which a wide variety were listed, were frowned upon by many. The authors felt that "the churches need a corporate testimony through exemplary policy," and that "the disapproval of certain economic practices could not be more effectively shown than by the refusal to accept and place ill-gotten gains on the altar."

In its investment practices the church followed rather closely secular investment procedures. It sought "security and continuity of yield" primarily. Investments for programs related to social improvement were omitted from church investment portfolios. Apparently, socially unacceptable financial and economic practices were not too carefully scrutinized. Whatever investment practices were followed by the church, the authors stated that they should not be at "the expense of critical judgment concerning social consequences."

The authors have summarized from questionnaires, correspondence, and consultations certain economic practices common to the church as employer, money-raiser, and investor. Some consciences may be disturbed. Many socially sensitive churchmen will be stimulated to action and they will seek to get the church nearer to the economic standards which it advocates for the secular economy. F. Ernest Johnson and J. Emory Ackerman have, I believe, rendered the church a great service through this book.

John Halko, Greater Philadelphia Council of Churches

Cities in the Motor Age. By Wilfred Owen. New York: Viking Press, 1959. 176 pp., \$3.95.

It would be absurd for a nation with all the practical knowledge that is ours to permit the continuing deterioration of our urban environment. We have an enormous task of regional

rebuilding and planning that needs most urgently to succeed.

Thus the author states the theme of concern which led Connecticut General Life Insurance Company to sponsor a most significant symposium in September 1957. This theme successfully permeated the twenty excellent background papers prepared for the symposium.

Focus on the relation of cities to the motor age was chosen for timeliness in view of the vast new program of federal aid, rather than because anyone believed transportation to be the sole problem of our metropolitan areas.

It is encouraging to note the constant framing of urban problems in the proper metropolitan regional context; the insistence that urban problems must be attacked on many different fronts; the pervading sense of urgency about the tasks to be performed; and the general conviction that there are tools available, or developmentally possible, to make our cities livable and efficient.

The book proceeds from an acceptance of the fact that "Americans have made up their minds to live in metropolitan areas and ride in automobiles," and the materials detailing the implications of these decisions are sharp, clear, and blunt. As one might suspect from the caliber of the leaders, there was no sentimentalizing about former things, but there was earnest conviction--yes, even passion--about the potentialities for a new kind of urban civilization.

This stimulating and perceptive volume represents the kind of ideas and facts that should be penetrating the administrative and policy-making minds of the church. Also, the church could have a lot to contribute to these kinds of discussions; for in the pages of this book we see again the searching by planners and public policy makers for an authentic word about human value systems, e.g., "the basic weakness in the attack on metropolitan areas today is that it lacks this central theme of what people need" (p. 149). For the church planner this book represents a significant resource in understanding the scope of his planning and the nature of the forces with which he must inevitably come to grips.

In short, *Cities in the Motor Age* is a competent guide and valuable asset for churchmen who wish to participate intelligently and responsibly in the massive task of shaping the new physical and social structures emerging in America in this second half of the twentieth century.

Meryl Ruoss, National Council of Churches

God and Caesar. Edited by Warren A. Quanbeck. Minneapolis. Augsburg Publishing House. 1959. 207 pp., \$3.95.

This symposium represents a vital part of the concern

of the contemporary Luther revival, which is to free Martin Luther from the reproach that he did not have a social ethic, or if he did, that the effect of it was inevitably reactionary. The present set of essays reflects the sustained work done over a period of 12 years by the Lutheran Social Ethics Seminar meeting under the moderatorship of Otto A. Piper. Its membership is powerfully representative of modern Luther studies, and the Seminar has clearly labored consistently, and at a very fundamental level, to elucidate the relevance of the Luther *corpus* and of the Lutheran Confessions to the complex social and political issues of our time.

This reviewer's impression has been, as he has worked through volume after volume of recent Luther studies, that, while much of the material was invaluable, it was frequently heavy and over-solemn, and that it handled its sources in a ponderous exegetical fashion far removed from the hearty and imaginative, even explosive, manner of the Blessed Martin himself. It has had the smell of the study on it, whereas the winds of the world blew through Martin Luther's work.

The present volume has some of the same aridity, but the best of the essays break free of it into a fine and invigorating study of some of the most pressing issues of our time. The title is a shade misleading: it is not simply a study of church-state relations, but handles a variety of topics more in the spirit of the sub-title, "A Christian Approach to Social Ethics." Otto Piper contributes the opening essay on "The Church and Political Form," and two concluding chapters on "Justification and Christian Ethics" and "Faith and Daily Life." They fall short of the general standard of the book. They are somewhat prosy and unoriginal, and deal in stereotypes which tend to absurdity: "Reinhold Niebuhr . . . merely demonstrates to people how hopeless and worthless their life is" (p. 195). There are businesslike essays by George W. Forell, "The State as Order of Creation"; by Jaroslav J. Pelikan, "Totalitarian and Democracy"; by Walter A. Bauer, "The Philosophy of the American Revolution"; and by Ernest G. Schwiebert, "The Reformation and the Capitalistic Revolution." Paul Bretschler's chapter on "The Communist Manifesto" is accurate and useful, if unoriginal. But the prize item, as it is the fullest, is Arthur Piepkorn's "Church, Nation and Nationalism," which is packed with the most discriminating historical and analytical material not duplicated, to the best of my knowledge, elsewhere.

All in all the collection is a very serviceable articulation of Lutheran cultural concern.

Alexander Miller, Stanford University

Top Leadership U.S.A. By Floyd Hunter. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959. 268 pp., \$6.00.

In an earlier book (*Community Power Structure*) Hunter developed a research technique for determining the decision-makers in a single city. This technique is simple and ingenious.

From almost any source the researcher gets names of persons said to be leaders. He goes to these persons and from them gets the names of persons *they* consider leaders. And on the researcher goes until he finds the same names appearing on his list--until, that is, he finds the leaders who consult primarily each other. These are the *top* leaders.

Top Leadership U.S.A. elaborates this technique in three ways by locating the "semi-closed" circle of top leaders in: 1) a state, 2) the textile industry, 3) the nation. The leaders are named, and the general thesis documented might read: A power structure exists in the form of an "informal circuit of representatives of many of the major influence groups." This circuit evidences a high rate of inter-communication, influence on national policy, and basic values commensurate with the "larger corporate interests."

For a more sophisticated treatment of "America's sixty families," Hunter is to be commended. His descriptions are lucid and convincing. The primary criticism, indeed, is for what he does *not* do rather than what he does. He does not treat the larger problems of *how* the influence is where it is, *why* it is not "all-powerful," and what happens when the elite disagree among themselves or lose in a battle with Washington. That these men have power is apparent. But the equally interesting question of why they do not have more influence than they do is not satisfactorily answered. For example, "The functions of the political boss . . . have been taken over by certain local businessmen . . ." (p. 213); and "it was . . . exceedingly difficult to conduct a successful campaign . . . without the backing of those who contributed heavily" (p. 211); but, "Many legislators . . . do not capitulate quickly to mere pressure" (p. 239).

To pull quotations out of context may be unfair if used to show contradictions in the author's reasoning, but here they point to the absence of answers to the questions of *why* and *how* in a book that primarily treats the question of *who*.

For professionals in religion, the virtual absence of influence at the top by churchmen will stand out. For the sociologist of religion, it will shed light on the paradox of increasing secularization amid a renewed interest in religion in this country.

Phillip E. Hammond, Columbia University
Bureau of Applied Social Research

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Charles Y. Glock, University of California (Berkeley)

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- Wesley A. Hotchkiss and Yoshio Fukuyama, United Church of Christ

"Some Variations in the Social Characteristics of Catholics in Five Different Parishes in the Same Social Area"

- Francis Cizon, Loyola University

"The Detroit Area Study"

- Harry Sharp, University of Michigan

"Some Religious Characteristics of Great Books Program Participants"

- Lathrop V. Beale, National Opinion Research Center

"The Myth of Objectivity--Implications for Religious Research"

- Thomas F. Hoult, Wayne State University

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Registration: Friday, June 17, 9:00-9:30 a.m. Opening session, 9:30 a.m. Annual banquet, Saturday, June 18, 5:30 p.m.